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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *wataiwutf*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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601 in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

Notes on the relationship terms

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

Tʃina- is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection [604] vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

593 The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's •882 people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

601 595 In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is

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only relative whose property, such as coco-nuts or areca-nut, he may requisition if necessary. Two women who are *kiar* will work together and will look after each other's children. If one dies, the other will take her sister's baby and suckle it, if she is in a position to do so. They are very often both married to the same man, but there is, so far as my knowledge goes, less friction between them than between co-wives who are unrelated. It is not uncommon for two brothers to marry two sisters, and to build huts next door to one another.

Kiar may be used as a term of address, and so far as I know there is no alternative vocative form.

One of the women of Kurtatchi adopted me as her *kiar*, on her own initiative. She never failed to respond to any request I made of her, and would let me have a supply of taro even when she had not too large a store for herself. In return she considered herself entitled to ask me for tobacco once in a while, a concession I never permitted to others, but she did not abuse the privilege. I used sometimes to work in her taro garden, which pleased her very much, being the proper thing for a *kiar* to do.

5. *Wevnē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between people of opposite sexes, in accordance with the rule discussed in the preceding note. It is applied, primarily, by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother, and also to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of the mother's sister and of the father's brother, provided they are of the opposite sex to the speaker, that is to say, to the children (of the appropriate sex) of any person the parents call *kiar*. While both are little the relation between *wevnē-* is very similar to that between *kiar*. If the girl be the elder, she looks after her little brother, pets him, and carries him about. Little boys are usually immensely pleased with their baby sisters. Several whom I knew well were always dragging me off to admire their little sisters and to see what they could do.

Withdrawal of intimacy begins abruptly when the boy is sent to the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*. As long as he wears it his contact with his sister is reduced to a minimum, since he is strictly debarred from all but the most distant necessary converse with girls and women. After he has finished the *upi* ceremonies this prohibition is removed, but though there is no actual

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taboo attached to the *wevnē-* relationship, there is a feeling of 'shame' between them which persists throughout life. They would be 'ashamed' to talk to each other without other people present. If a man's *wevnē-* calls him to come and take some food from her he may do so, but more probably he will be 'ashamed' and will pretend not to hear her.

Jokes on sexual subjects may not be passed by anybody with a woman in the presence of her brother. But traditional stories involving sexual situations were told me freely by persons of both sexes in the presence of their *wevnē-*. It is not correct to bandy with a woman, while her brother is present, certain slightly improper words, which in the general way are looked upon much as we look on slang.[1] Still less should expressions which are actually regarded as obscene be used under these circumstances. One day a man living near me, in a rage with his wife, accused her of having improper relations with another man, using one of these expressions. Her brother overheard it, and was furious, not at such things having been said to his sister, but at their having been said in his hearing. He said he would go away, and then her husband could swear at her as much as he liked. He did actually leave the village, and did not return for several days, staying meanwhile with some people who were camping at the taro garden.

6. *Wagun* (term used reciprocally).

The use of this term and the next following will be best understood if considered in the light of the explanation given of the application of the terms *kiar* and *wevnē-*. *Wagun* is employed by males in reference to females and by females in reference to males, never between persons of the same sex. A man applies it to the wife of any one he calls *kiar*, and a wife to any one her husband calls *kiar*. We might say it applies to 'in-laws' of the same generation as the speaker but of the opposite sex.

[1] The existence of this rule I learnt by breaking it. There is a certain word, *biak*, an abbreviation of *bibiak*, which means 'faeces', but is used much as we use the expression 'Rot!' to indicate jocular disbelief in something that has been said. Having been taught this by Marotē as the proper retort to make on a previous occasion, I once jokingly countered with it a remark of her own. She immediately became quite serious and changed the subject. When she had me alone she explained that I ought not to have said it to her while her brother was listening. I was forgiven on the score of ignorance, and obtained much enlightenment on the rules of the *wevnē-* relationship as the result of my innocent breach of good manners.

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7*a*) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116) Facing p. 87. —Amherst]

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836 to me—there were none at Kurtatchi—the unmarried girls indulged in amours as freely as their married contemporaries, but, like them, were desirous of avoiding pregnancy, fearing that they would then be under some difficulty in obtaining a husband later. But in places where there has been little white contact, I incline to think, though the evidence bearing on the point is rather inferential than direct, that pre-marital intercourse is not, and never has been, prevalent among these natives, to any great extent, in respect of either males or females.

882 834 In this area the relations between the sexes before marriage must be considered in the light of two circumstances which have a very definite influence upon them. The first is the elaborate hedge of taboos and restrictions surrounding the boys wearing the *upi*, that is to say, all the boys between the ages of about ten and about eighteen. These regulations are—or were at the time of my visit—still strictly binding, or, if broken, so much care is taken that the delinquents are seldom found out. Their effect is to keep the boys completely away from the women and girls, from which it follows that sexual advances are forbidden. One or two cases were reported to me of boys indulging in sexual intercourse while still wearing the *upi*, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional. [684] This, I believe, indicates the actual position and was not merely the statement of the conventional standpoint. In the olden days, discovery would have been punished with death for both parties.

582 [164] The second factor to be considered is that boys, and more especially girls, are generally betrothed while still quite small children. I was told of girls who had been betrothed 'before they had yaws', which indicates that they were hardly more than a year old, since this tropical skin disease falls to the lot of practically 584 every child about the age of one or two years. My informants told me that the match was generally arranged by the boy's father, but in practice I found that it was just as likely to be the boy's mother's brother who took the initiative, and that other people also might, and often did, take a hand in the matter. One day, while I was visiting the village of Tabut, a man from Ruri came over to see if he could get a certain young woman as a wife for his sister's son. He was prepared to give two strings of *imun* and some *beroan*, the amount of which he did not state. She was married to a man who is working at Timputs, but he said the man had divorced her,

V

CHILDHOOD

PERIODS OF CHILD'S GROWTH

856 THE following terms are applied to children at various ages:

Petats dialect.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*English equivalent.*
kukúrik	*kúso*	Infant in arms, applied from the day of birth.
bólat		Infant getting a little bigger.
gúmgúm		Baby who can sit up without help.
sénsén	*sodras*	Baby who can crawl.
tátá	*pípit i kúnom*	Child who can walk a little with support.
na la papáis	*pípit a potʃ*	Child who can walk without help, toddler.
pían atsón	*bái'i uétē*	Boy, general term (lit. male child).
pían hihín	*bái'i mon*	Girl, general term (lit. female child).
kukuvé	*kóvio*	Maiden.

882 Of a girl arriving at the age of puberty, they say, in the Kurtatchi dialect, *mon tʃitʃi en nan ma*, or *mon tʃitʃi taputs nan ma*, both phrases meaning a female whose breasts are developing. Of a boy they say *no non datsu*, 'he goes to the bush', referring to the period of withdrawal prior to the first puberty ceremony. After he has been through this ceremony the term *upi* is applied to him, the same word as is used for the leaf hat which is put on at this time, and worn for some years afterwards.

TREATMENT OF BABIES

854 Small babies are petted and played with a great deal, not only by their parents but by everybody in the village. The only show of endearment which is permitted in public is that between a small child and an adult. I have never seen a child kissed in our fashion, the corresponding caress is to put the open mouth to the cheek of the baby and pull it away again. A much more frequent form of fondling is patting or stroking. A crying baby will be taken up and dandled up and down in its mother's arms. She will sometimes say to it: '*Tui, tui, tui, tui,*' with a rapid trill of the lips which I 854 could not imitate. If it continues to cry, it is usually given the 533 breast. I have also heard the Melanesian equivalent of 'Father's gone a-hunting', which runs: '*Tōmus, tʃinamen to eb en i musin,*

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became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing operations were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanias back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the *upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolical, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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881 574 621 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies, which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATA-WUTJ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 689 [266] Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

882 They may not sit on the *bàbots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 834 684 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be. 882 832 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed, with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

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I was alone on my verandah, one of the *upi* boys—a lad whom I should judge to be somewhere in his middle teens—came up, and with great secrecy, looking carefully round to make sure he was not observed, produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a bundle of leaves, tied up with fibre string. He said it contained a mixture used by men to gain the favours of a woman they desired. He asked me not to tell anybody that he had given it to me, because, as he was still wearing the *upi*, he was not supposed to have such things, and if the old men knew, they would 'make poison' against him and he would die. He had obtained it from a mountain native belonging to a distant village. It resembled, both in contents and in method of use, other 'medicines' of the same nature in my collection.

The boys are not under any restrictions as regards the discussion of sexual subjects. They contributed, at my 'story-telling evenings', stories and legends of sexual and non-sexual content in about the same proportions as did the other villagers.

Under no circumstances may any boy be seen by a woman without his *upi*. Strictly speaking, they are not supposed to take it off, except in the privacy of their *tobar*, but in practice they sometimes remove it when away in the bush, especially when they do anything liable to injure it. Shortly after I first came to Kurtatchi I was out with two of the older men and several of the *upi* boys. One of the men told a small boy to climb a coco-nut palm and get us some coco-nuts to drink, and to take off his *upi* before doing so. He looked at me with a frightened grimace, and refused. The older man told him that I was 'just the same as a man' and that it did not matter if I saw him without his *upi*. He was still unwilling to remove it, so another boy was sent up. He took off the hat, and a roll of black cloth which helped to keep it in place, laying both carefully under a bush. Two other boys were set to watch the path in both directions, in case any women should come in sight. They explained that the women did not know about the roll of cloth, which was put in because the boy's hair had not yet grown long enough to keep the *upi* in place. It was hardly down to his shoulders; they said it had not been growing very long. Before they had any cloth they used bundles of grass. If a man saw one of the boys with this roll showing, he would take the careless youth aside and tell him to go into the *tobar* and put his *upi* on properly.

In the olden days, if a woman saw a boy without his *upi* she

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688 would have been speared to death. Though the death penalty can no longer be exacted, there is still a very real horror of this inadvertently occurring. One unfortunate little boy was afflicted with 753 head lice to such an extent that his hair began to fall out badly. This was attributed to the fact that he had eaten canarium almonds which are taboo to boys wearing the *upi*. When the top of his head 292 was quite bald, leaving only a fringe of hair round the outside of 788 his *upi*, the men became afraid that the hat might fall off in the presence of the women. They decided to forestall that catastrophe, and take off the hat with proper ritual. One of the men came to tell me it was going to be done, and asked if I wished to be present.

The hat was removed in the *tobar* of the clan Naboin, to which the boy belonged. This should have been done by the boy's *amro*, but as he was away from the village at the time, his brother officiated instead. As soon as the *upi* had been removed, the same man cut [302] off the wisp of hair that remained and covered the whole head with paint, black in front and at the back, with a broad streak of red in the middle, running from ear to ear. The usual method of painting for ceremonial purposes is from front to back; the pattern here used is especially sanctioned for the removal of the *upi* and is put on at the *wasipsip* ceremony. Three of the older men were looking on. No one spoke above a whisper. The boy looked very crestfallen, 882 and it was evidently all he could do not to cry. He was one of the 292 smallest of the *upi* boys, his age would be somewhere about ten 781 probably. His status in the village is not affected, but he will not be able to take part in the *watawutʃ* with his companions, which is a bitter disappointment to him. He stayed inside the *tobar* for the rest of the day. He was free to leave it had he wished, but he was very self-conscious, and dreaded being seen by the women without his *upi*. The older men legitimized its removal by partaking of ceremonial pudding specially prepared, made in lengths instead of rolls, and called *gōgi*. After sundown the *upi* was taken to pieces, and the upper part, made of leaves, with part of the cane frame, was burnt inside the *tobar*. The lower part of the frame is made of a large variety of bamboo which does not grow in the district but must be bought from the mountain people. With an eye to economy, this was saved and hung up from the rafters, to be used again.

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II. *Regulations concerning food.*

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: *karawa*, *sosoa* (garfish), *tɔro*, *poa*, and *useŋ*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called *masõn*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstruation ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *wapi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

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elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject, and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers, and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is no longer observed.

They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*, except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hair-dressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of which the following is a typical example:

Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies, when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

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stood to him in the relation of *pi'an* (cross-cousin), and as he was therefore prohibited from touching his skin, another man was specially appointed to perform the duty of putting on the paint.

They may not decorate themselves with a plant called *tsutsuir*, which is much liked by these people and is frequently worn tucked into the arm-band. This prohibition is removed after the watawutch ceremony.

IV. *Other regulations.*

In the olden days, boys wearing the *upi* were not allowed to handle edged tools. They might help to clear the bush, but all cutting was done by the *amro*. This taboo is no longer enforced.

A boy wearing the *upi* may not be beaten by anybody, no matter what his offence. Those who break this taboo will die. Specific instances were cited of people who had done so—and had died. It is permissible for two boys to fight each other, though it is difficult to imagine how they could do so effectively without first removing their head-gear.

In recent years, with the increase in the practice of going away to work for white men, another rule has been made, that the boys wearing the *upi* may not sign on as indentured labourers. For some time after putting on the hat they must not work for white men at all, but after their hair has grown to some length they can work as casuals, provided they work on a plantation near enough to their own village to enable them to return to it each night. They are not allowed to remove their *upi* while at work. After they have been through the *watawutʃ* they may sign on as indentured labourers and are permitted, if they wish, to remove the *upi* and tie up their hair in a bit of cloth; this is done to keep it out of the way rather than to prevent it from being seen, since the prohibition on showing it is removed at the *watawutʃ*.

A further complication is now caused by the boarding-schools instituted by the various missions. A boy from Ruri who went to one of these had his *upi* removed by the priest. His people were very angry, but the affair was not as bad as it might have been, because the lad had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony. It was legitimized by making a feast at Ruri, to which the Kurtatchi people were invited; this brought the matter to my notice. (Incidentally, those who went said it wasn't much of a feast, there was only one pig and some taro, and they got only very little apiece!)

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Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.)*
(viii)	Ornamented upi exchanged for plain ones.	Follows directly.
(ix)	Burning of *tobar tʃan*, *ruvor* trees, *kaisa* figures, and the *upi* worn up to time of *watawutf*.	,, ,,

III. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH *WASIPSIP*

1. *wawilbē*	Seclusion of novices in bush.	A few days.
2. *WASIPSIP*	Ceremony for discarding *upi*.	At any convenient time after *watawutf*.
(i)	Novices return to village and enter enclosure.	At noon on appointed day.
(ii)	*Upi* removed by *amro* and hair of novices cut short, inside enclosure.	At dawn, day following i.
(iii)	*Kōma* with *amro* carrying novices on their shoulders.	Immediately following.
(iv)	Novices given water, which they must really drink.	,, ,,
(v)	*Kōma* in which novices join.	Till sunset on same day.

Note. Parkinson (1907, p. 657) gives an illustration of some boys wearing the *upi*, with a few details of the time of seclusion in the bush, and a description of a ceremony which appears to be a combination of the *watawutf* and the *wasipsip*. He makes no mention of any ceremony held when the novices first put on the hat. It does not appear that he had himself witnessed the ceremony he describes, and he admits that his information regarding the wearing of the hat is scanty. But it is, of course, possible that the procedure may have been changed in the interval between his account and my own.

DISCUSSION OF CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE WEARING OF THE *UPI*, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE LIFE OF THE VILLAGE

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As has been previously stated, a boy wearing the *upi* is strictly enjoined to avoid all but the most distant association with girls and women, and is forbidden to enter any hut in which a woman lives, including that of his mother. It follows that the putting on of the hat involves the withdrawal of the boy from family life. He may still come to the door of the hut and receive the taro or bit of fish which his mother or some other woman may hand out to him, but he cannot go and sit with his family while he eats it. He lives and sleeps in the boys' house with others of his kind. He therefore has no part in the two things which the members of a family (in our sense of the word) usually share—their meal and their roof.

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Conversations with many native women on this subject leave me in no doubt that the women feel very keenly this break—often the first—in their family life. The ritual wailing which accompanies

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to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

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would repay fuller investigation from the psychological standpoint than I was able to give it.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not exempt from taking their share in the work of the village. They are encouraged by the older men to share in their daily round. They help in cutting the bush to prepare the ground for planting taro, though they are not allowed in the taro garden while women are working there. They are taken fishing, both ordinary reef-fishing and bonito-fishing. They are taught the technique of canoe-making, house-building, and so on. They join in the ceremonial dances, going round in wheel-formation with the men.

As well as the activities which they share with the adult men, they have also their own. Parties of them were always going off into the bush on their own, either to hunt for small creatures to cook for themselves, or just to wander about. Not wanting to be always with their elders, and debarred from playing with girls of their own age, they have every inducement to develop an organized 'gang' among themselves. There is a word, *tobarupi*, which means 'all the boys' (in a given village). There seems to be a considerable amount of solidarity in their life together, and I do not think that any boy wearing the *upi* was deliberately made to feel an outsider. One of the boys at Kurtatchi was deaf and dumb, but he had been granted the privilege of putting on the *upi*, and was accepted by the others without distinction. They used to laugh at him sometimes, but it was always in friendly fashion, and they never left him out of their pursuits, having evolved a system of signs whereby he could be made to understand what they wanted to convey to him.

In times past, whatever secret chafing may have gone on in the privacy of the *tobar*, the boys seem to have accepted the restrictions under which they laboured with a good grace, and to have felt that they were compensated by the importance conferred upon them. But at the time of my visit signs of resentment at the irksomeness of the taboos might be detected among the older boys. They were supported in their rebellion by the Missions and the employers of labour, and some of the younger men shared their point of view, though every one was careful not to voice his unorthodox views too loudly, in case of punishment either by the *urur* or by the *tsumaun*. One or two men with young sons told me, in private, that they were not going to let their children put on the *upi* when

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882 178 the time came, giving as a reason the unaccountable death of the fathers of some of the *upi* boys not long before. There seems no doubt that the custom will shortly disappear, together with most of the taboos involved, although segregation of the adolescent boys will probably continue in a modified form, as it does in Buka at present.

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VII

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

GIRL'S LIFE DURING ADOLESCENCE

882 291 [602] THERE is no sharp break in the life of a girl, corresponding to that which faces a boy when he puts on the *npi*.[1] No ceremony imposes upon her any sudden burden of taboos and regulations. There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule as regards the age at which she begins wearing the woman's hood. Owing to the ramifications of the classificatory system of relationships, even quite small girls are liable to have relatives who come under the term *waris* (son-in-law), from whose sight they are technically supposed to shield themselves by means of the hood. Most little girls possess one, and wear it on ceremonial occasions. But, in practice, the rule of avoidance is rigidly enforced only between the woman and the husband of her own daughter, or of her sister's daughter, after the final marriage ceremony, so that it does not bear heavily upon a girl during her adolescence. Similarly, so far as I could learn, there was never any great stress laid on the time of putting on the girdle and bunch of leaves which was the only wear of the women prior to the adoption of the loin-cloth. A girl wore this girdle as a matter of course after she had experienced her first menstrual flux, but could begin earlier if she liked. But it may be that a custom long fallen into disuse may have been forgotten by, or even unknown to, those with whom I discussed this question. Nowadays, when even quite tiny children are often to be seen wearing loin-cloths, it seems to be a matter of their parents' or their own personal preference.

882 591 A girl's first ordeal comes when she must go for the first time to stay with her prospective husband's people, almost invariably in another, if perhaps not always far distant, village. This takes place long before she arrives at the age of puberty. After the first, which, as one would expect, seems always to be difficult, most girls, I think, regard these visits with complaisance, or at worst with indifference, though perhaps seldom with any degree of positive pleasure. The tenor of their lives runs in much the same grooves as before; they work in the gardens, fetch firewood and water, and

[1] [erratum, should be upi. – Powlyst]

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look after babies for their mother-in-law instead of for their own mother. In the instances which came under my own observation, they were kindly treated, and some amount of trouble was taken to make them feel at home. Between such visits a girl returns to her own people, and takes up her ordinary life again with them until such time as the marriage ceremony is performed, after which she lives with her husband, unless he signs on as an indentured labourer. In this case she will probably continue to live at home and go about with the other girls of the village as before. There were several girls at Kurtatchi in this position.

One child, Takon (Pl. 7*b*), whose breasts began to develop during the later months of my stay, was living in the hut of her husband, Wasē, though the marriage would not be consummated until she was older. Wasē (Pl. 66*b*), a man somewhere in his early twenties, had another wife about his own age and a third had recently died. Takon was a reserved, quiet child, but appeared to be happy enough. She held her own in the village, and was always on good terms with the other girls both in work and play. She and Nawi were frequently to be seen together, and both spent much time on my verandah.

Even the onset of menstruation makes no violent change in the girl's life. There is nothing here comparable to the conditions found by Margaret Mead among the Manus, where 'puberty for girls means the beginning of adult life and responsibility, the end of play, careless companionship, happy hours of desultory ranging through the village' (1930, p. 175). The girl of the North-Western Solomons goes on with the tasks she has gradually taken up as she has grown older, and continues to play with the girl friends she has gone about with all her life. Nawi, of whom more later, had as her greatest friend and constant companion a girl named Kiots, who had experienced her first menstrual period a year or more earlier, and went about nearly as much with Bolis, a child of five or six, who, though so much younger, seemed to be accepted and treated by her as an equal. Both these friendships continued as usual, after Nawi had been through the ceremony marking her first menstruation.

Under ordinary circumstances, the second great ordeal of a girl's life is the consummation of her marriage. This has been discussed in Chapter III. The aspect of it relevant in the present connexion is that after a childhood which grew gradually into girlhood, during

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593 which her duties and responsibilities were always towards her mother or her mother-in-law, she must now launch out for herself, not only entering into new and often difficult physical relations with a man who is practically a stranger to her, but also assuming the responsibility of providing food for him, of caring for their home, and, probably very soon, of bearing him a child. This great change in her circumstances may take place soon after, or in some cases even shortly before, her arrival at physiological maturity, or it may be delayed for some time.

797 871 177 812 582 The establishment of Mission schools is tending to alter the prospects of the adolescent girl in places within their sphere of influence. The possibility is now open to her of attending boarding-school, and thus of postponing for several years her marriage and, in the case of the younger girls, her betrothal. She is just beginning to assert her right to accept or reject the advances of her suitors, instead of passively acquiescing in a match arranged by her parents. At Petats there were several unmarried adolescent girls. One even announced her intention to remain so, saying that she preferred her freedom. But the point of view of the majority was probably better represented by the girl who said that she didn't want to stay single and have all sorts of things said about her. If occasion arises, the young people may even go so far as to question the authority of the taboo forbidding marriage with certain classificatory relatives. One couple, whom I knew, proposed, to the horror of their parents, to marry in spite of the fact that they stood to each other in the relationship of *mataha* ('brother and sister') since their grandmothers were sisters. In the end, however, the opposition was too strong for them, and the affair was broken off.

797 177 582 It is evident that the whole system of betrothal and marriage will eventually disappear, and be replaced, under the tuition of the missions, by something approximating to our own, involving the break-down of much of the native social structure. Whether they will make more of a success of marriage under these conditions than we do, or than they do under their own system, remains to be seen. On the face of it, and in view of the evidence cited in the Chapter III, there seems reason to think that the early part of married life, at any rate, would be made happier by the change. But it is hard to foretell what effect a radical change such as this is going to have on the life of a primitive community.

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The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed.

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended, and shall presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage.

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be observed at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a *kōma*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six

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months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not in any way connected.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not on their physiological development, but on the number of boys whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the ceremony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

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away. The resulting parcel (measuring perhaps 4 or 5 ft.×2 ft.) is called *met* ('dead'), and represents the body of a dead man. It is fixed on to a pole in the same way in which pigs are carried, and brought to the village, the men singing as they go. It is put down in front of the principal house; in Kurtatchi village this would be the hut occupied by Pinari's chief wife. Those who take part in bringing it in may not eat or drink or chew the betel-mixture from the time when they awake that morning.

Then they call for the *tsunaun* of the place (at Kurtatchi, Pinari and his two *wevnē-*, Pari and Matēv). The *tsunaun* must make fire by rubbing two sticks together, inside the hut, calling the while the names of all the *urar*. They take some almonds out of the *met* and throw them into the fire, as soon as it is properly kindled. Then they take lime, and pass it round the fire, taking care not to spill any into the flames. They tap several times on the outside of the lime-pot. A few drops of water and the milk of a drinking coco-nut are scattered in a circle all round the fire. Then they take a taro and put it into the fire, calling on all the *urar* who are in the fire to come and drink. Each *tsunaun* calls the names of the *urar* of his own lineage. Then they break up some of the fruits of the betel-pepper and throw them into the fire. Then the *tsunaun* take some lime and put it on the ears of all the men who went to gather the almonds in the bush. After this these men can eat and drink and chew the betel-mixture for the first time that day.

Finally, the *tsunaun* break up the *met* and eat some of the almonds inside it. One of the women *tsunaun* (in this village it was Pari) fills a *kōbū* with nuts from the *met*, and takes it to the women, who eat on their side of the hut. When all, both men and women, have finished eating, the slit-gong is beaten. If, when all have eaten as much as they can, there are still some almonds left in the *met*, each person takes a share of them and carries them off to eat at home.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not allowed to take any part in this ceremony. They may not eat almonds at any time after they have put on the hat at the *wapi* ceremony, until a special bit of ritual has been gone through, which consists of their being given some nuts to eat in public, thus removing the taboo.

At the conclusion of the ceremony for the first almonds a game is played with tops made of coco-nut shell. The fibrous sheath of

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The work was done very rapidly and was well co-ordinated, so that there was no confusion, although there was a large number of people working in close juxtaposition. Though it was long after noon when the planting started the whole area was covered before sunset, except a few corners where there were not enough stalks to go round. These were finished subsequently, without further ceremony. Almost all the able-bodied people of the village were present, both men and women, with the exception of the boys wearing the *upi*. They were not allowed to come to the garden on that day, but were obliged to stay in or near the village.

The women wore no head covering. They are not allowed to wear their pandanus leaf hoods on this occasion. If any one has a *waris* relative present she must make a hood out of banana leaves. I could get no explanation of this rule against the wearing of the hood, usually very much in evidence on all ceremonial occasions, frequently worn even when custom does not require it, to protect the head when exposed to the heat of the sun, as these women were all this day.

Every one left the garden as soon as the planting was finished. It was not visited again for the next five days. After that work was resumed upon it, the remaining patches were cleared and the odd corners filled.

There was no *kōma* on the evening of the ceremony, and all next day every one stayed about the place doing nothing. They said they were tired after the hard work of planting. There was a *kōma* that evening, especially for the taro garden, but it did not go on all night.

I could get no information as to how long it would be before this taro was ready for use. They seem to judge only by looking at it.

On August 23, 1930, I saw another performance of this ceremony, on the occasion of the planting of a taro garden belonging to the village of Tabut. Although the general course of the proceedings was similar, the whole thing was much less elaborate and carried out with less dramatic effect. The principal performer chewed some roots with areca-nut and the leaves—but not the fruit, which is the usual accompaniment of areca-nut—of the betel-pepper, and touched the heaps of taro stalks with this mixture, which he spat into the palms of his hands (Pl. 39*b*). He did not call upon any *urar*. I inquired later as to this omission and was told that some people did so and some did not, but that if it had

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342 plement, the worker then slides a thinner strip of cane through it, thus fixing the leaves down firmly (Pl. 56 *b*). This process is continued along the length of the supporting cane, some 6 or 8 feet.

A number of these lengths of thatch are prepared, men, women, and children all lending a hand. They are put on in layers, beginning at the top of the roof, each succeeding layer being tucked underneath the one above it. Ties of the outer rind of the stem of a plant called *nin* are used to fasten the thatch to the rafters, the ties being placed at intervals of about 2 feet. If the lengths of thatch are made to overlap closely, a very good watertight roof is the result, but the work is often hastened at the expense of efficiency by making them overlap only a little, forming a roof which is very liable to be blown out of place by wind.

342 [177] The two ends of the long, narrow hut are filled in by sheets of bark tied together and to the house-posts. Nowadays, when metal tools are available, planks are more frequently used for this purpose, provided the owner of the house can obtain nails. A space is left, usually not more than slightly over a foot in breadth and rather under 2 feet in height, to serve as a door (see Pl. 33). There is a door at each end of the hut. Planks are placed against these openings at night, secured by propping a log against them on the inside. A few people have now procured hinges or staples and have constructed doors which can be opened and shut, and are sometimes fitted with a bolt. Entrance and exit by these small apertures is a matter requiring considerable agility to the unaccustomed. To enter it is first necessary to climb upon a platform about 3 feet high, which is fixed in front of the end wall, and is made of areca-palm planks resting on three stout poles firmly fixed [517] in the ground. This verandah is much used as a place to sit, sleep, and eat.

342 562 Both ends of the house are exactly alike, but the front end with its verandah (together called *tagoan*), which faces the cleared space used for dances, is reserved for the men, women being allowed to occupy it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's end is the back (*babots*), and here most of their time is spent while they are at home. The men may join them, but all [882] the women's side of the line is strictly taboo to the boys wearing the *upi*.

342 565 The house belonging to the man of greatest importance in the village (*tsunaun tʃan*) has a porch between the end wall and the

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On another occasion the same thing took place at Kurtatchi.

425 579 565 Some of the women went round to each hut breaking up water coco-nuts, the owners giving them old ones for the purpose. The reason was that the wife of one of the important men had called her husband a lazy good-for-nothing who spent all his time at dances and did no work. When a woman scolds her husband, if he is *tsunaun*, the other women go round breaking things from every house in the village, not only the house of the couple involved.

425 882 Intentional destruction of property also takes place on the occasion of the *wapi* ceremony as described on p. 203.

INHERITANCE

565 428 A man's official heir is his eldest sister's eldest son. If she has no son the second sister's son takes the position. Failing the sons of full sisters, a son of his mother's sister—for whom he uses the same kinship term—would be the heir. I did not meet with this contingency. It is of importance chiefly in the transmission of the position of *tsunaun tʃan*, the person of highest rank in the village. Pinari's eldest sister, Pari, had a son who died in childhood. The heir was, therefore, Kakari, the son of his younger sister Matev. He cannot alienate this right however much he may wish to do so. With it goes the right to direct certain ceremonies, and the official ownership of land. Wasē, Pinari's eldest son, held in Kurtatchi no official position, but was accorded a measure of respect by virtue of the importance of his father. But if he had been living in his mother's village he would there have been the person next but one in importance to the *tsunaun tʃan*, who was his mother's mother's brother, yielding only to the son of an elder sister of his mother. On the death of his mother's brother he had been sent to his father at Kurtatchi, and had elected to remain there.

428 789 Personal property, including ceremonial currency, can be, and often is, left to a man's own children instead of to his sister's children. The same applies to knowledge of special magic. Pinari, who had no great liking for his nephew, had passed on his knowledge of magic for making dogs hunt well to his son Wasē, and did not intend to give it to his sister's son Kakari, who would succeed him as *tsunaun*. He said that Kakari would have half his material possessions, and his own children would have the other half; Kakari would divide it.

Other magic may be similarly inherited in several ways, either from a father—real or classificatory—or from a mother's brother,